846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already determined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[583] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage, for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 888 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons

*The hopelessly degenerate Camês, Voturões, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[10] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tamepuyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old people" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 [302] mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
[775] deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
000 Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

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the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers.

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own.

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajeboiši was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means.

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
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II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 776 MUNDURUCÚ RELIGION is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

CULTURE HEROES

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or, outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibö, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibö, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibö's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibö, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacuparí, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Mundurucú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Shikiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 797 Karusakaibö has been syncretized by the Mundurucú with the Christian God preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibö for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibö is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 797 842 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibö as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibö myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibö (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5–6.

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the woman and blows upon the semen, giving it life. Such atypical intervention in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies.

In all his activities, Karusakaibõ is accompanied by his constant companion, Daiïru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky.

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibõ myths. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karuetaouibõ and Wakurumpõ ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichökõ is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichökõ is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-nung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karukchewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibõ is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perisuat, and the wars of Yuriehungpõ and Karudaiïbi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakaibõ and Wakurumpõ. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.[1] The generic spirit mother of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually

[1] Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 53–54) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1949, p. 102) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are clearly related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these bush supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 235) reports the concept of the "mãe de bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Ita." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualise these protector spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Taulipang refer to them as fathers (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, pp. 176–177).

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Spirits of the Underworld

776 The *kokeriwat* are a class of spirits that are believed to inhabit the underworld. Although they are extremely mischievous, the *kokeriwat* are not specifically malevolent toward humans nor are they especially feared by the Mundurucú. During the old Mundurucú wars, *kokeriwat* warriors used to issue from the underworld and, unseen by all but the shamans, fought side by side with the Mundurucú as allies. One informant stated that the *kokeriwat* were really the souls of Mundurucú warriors of ancient times, but this is not a universally held belief and must be classed with our previously discussed minor variations on major themes. Despite the help given them by their invisible allies, the Mundurucú warriors had to take certain precautions against the *kokeriwat*, for the latter always attempted to steal the teeth from the trophy heads taken by the war party. The Mundurucú guarded against this by extracting the teeth, which were later strung on a cotton belt, and hiding them in the mouth of the head. When all the teeth were extracted, they were placed in a small box which the warriors suspended from their necks.

[842] The *kokeriwat* were also able to make women pregnant without their knowledge by assuming the form of a small bird and flying between their legs. They later returned to claim the issue. Several cases were reported in which the *kokeriwat* robbed the mothers of these surreptitiously begotten children. One child of the village of Parawaröktikâ was sent by her mother to fetch water. After a considerable period of time passed by, the mother asked some women who were bound for the stream to tell the daughter to return immediately. The women went to the stream and found two sets of tracks leading away from the beach. They called the men of the village, who followed the tracks to a hill within which was situated one of the underworld homes of the *kokeriwat*. A shaman called out to the girl and asked her to return, but the *kokeriwat* replied in a voice heard only by the shaman, "She cannot return. I am keeping her for she is my daughter." The shaman was afraid to make any further attempt to regain the child, and she was left with the *kokeriwat*.

776 Informants were able to name three separate underworlds of the *kokeriwat*. The
772 one to which that child was taken was known as Paraduá. Another was called Wikotchongpõ and was on the banks of the Iririri River, a tributary of the Cururú River. The third home of the *kokeriwat* was Kokeriwatka (literally, the place of the *kokeriwat*), which was near the Morro de Careca on the Cururú River. All these places were abandoned by the *kokeriwat* after they became increasingly subjected to attacks by the *Turuparí*. They now live in an underworld to the east and no longer have relations with the Mundurucú.

776 The Mundurucú know of the lands of the *kokeriwat* because many shamans are
756 said to have traveled there. Some shamans, as Põsubaboi, a former chief of Capîkpí, even had wives there. The *kokeriwat* have human forms when in their own land, but everything else is the reverse of the terrestrial world. Põsubaboi, for example, related that the first time he had intercourse with his *kokeriwat* wife he told her to lie on her back on the ground in the usual Mundurucú position. But the *kokeri-*